

R E V I E W.

Tuesday, September 9. 1712.

Of the State of Parties.

TH E present Disaster of our Parties is that you are all poring upon, what your Circumstances HAVE BEEN, but will not enquire into what your Circumstances NOW ARE: If it chanced, that any one more sensible than Ordinary, and capable of thinking clearly, opens your present Circumstances, you presently will enquire by *what means*, and by *whose Conduct*, you are brought into them? But no-body Enquires what is the present View? What is your Business? and what must be done now, in these Circumstances? I take something of this also to be the difference, between me and the People of this Day's Discontent, That I am Enquiring what we are now to do, and they are Reflecting on what we might have done.

To gratify the Humour of the Age, I am content to look a little back also; but then I shall look farther than other People do, and my Reflection will be to the Conduct of Parties for the last 40 years, and there to Examine, if they have not all made their Game of the People, just as we complain they do now.

As the Wise Man said in another Case, *I have seen the End of all Perfection*; I have seen the Bottom of all Parties, the Bottom of all their Pretences, and the Bottom of their Sincerity, and as the Preacher said, *that all was Vanity and Vexation of Spirit*, so I say of these, *All is a meer Show, Outside, and abominable Hypocrisie*, of every Party, in every Age, under every Government, in every Turn of Government; when they are OUT to get IN, when IN, to prevent being OUT; every Sect, every Party, and almost every Person that we have an Account of, have, I thought I see, been Guilty, more or less, of the general Charge, *viz. That their Interest governs their Principle*; I Challenge the Age to Name me the Party of Men since the Memory of our most Ancient Fathers of the last Century, who have not, by their own practise, confess'd the Charge, or on whom it may not be prov'd past Contradiction.

I am loth to make this Paper a Map of State Policy, or a History of the Tricking, Sharping, Cutting and Curvetting of States-Men, and the Hypocrisie of their Party-Men respectively, for the Ages past: let us take a summary View of our own Days —

Or of but a few Years of this last Age, within our Children's View, of recent Memory, in the reach of living Witnesses, or now before our Eyes.

We'll go back no farther than King *Charles II*'s Reign, and *I am the Man*, that am able to tell you what I have seen with mine Eyes, heard with my Ears, and can testify from my Knowledge in this Matter; and I count it my Unhappiness that I know too much of it; perhaps if I knew less, and shar'd more of the general Delusion, I might, in the abundance of my Ignorance, please you better.

I have seen the Moderate Church-Men give up the Dissenters, at first, in the Sacramental Test Act, pretending it was for the publick Good, to keep Papists out of the Government; I remember, the Low-Church-Men promising the Dissenters to give them a Clause of Exception afterwards, and to declare the Design was not against Protestant Dissenters; and I have seen the same Moderate Men forget not that promise only, but even forget, that the first meaning of that Law was against the Papists, and then I have seen them idolize it, as the only Defence of the Church against the Dissenters — All Hypocrisie, all self-Interest and Party!

I have seen the Dissenters, who, on the most upright Principles of Conscience, and Purity of Worship, Dissented from the Church, submit to the Terms of that Antichristian Law, and Conform and Dissent Conscientiously at the same Time — All Self-Interest, Cowardise, and Hypocrisie!

I have seen High Church Zealous to the last degree against Popery, on pretence of the Safety of the King's Person, and of the Religion and Liberties of their Country, and the same High Church, in the same Breath, as it were, Sacrifice their Prince and their Religion to a Popish Successor, and throw out the Bill of Exclusion — All Party and Hypocrisie!

I have seen the Whigs and Dissenters, for then they began to be call'd Whigs, appear vigorously against a Popish Successor, and yet the same Men adore him when he came to Reign, and thank him for the Destruction of their Liberties, thereby Encouraging him to destroy, after it, both their Religion and Property — All Time-serving and Hypocrisie!

I have

I have seen High Church flatter two Kings with the Absurdities of Right-Line, Indefeizable-Right, and Passive Undisputed Obedience, and after that take up Arms against, dethrone, banish, and fight against him, and as much as lay in them, Murder the same Prince they swore and promised that Absolute Subjection to — All Interest and abhor'd Hypocrisie !

I have seen the Whigs Worshipping, and even Idolizing King William, and yet afterwards join with the Tories, by flying in the Face of the best Step that ever was taken for their Peace and Security, viz. The Treaty of Partition.

I have seen the Tories getting into the Administration of a Whig Constitution, and while they said all the fine Things of the Revolution, fall to Fury and Persecution of Dissenters, under pretence of Peace and Union; What was all this, but Party-Cant, and Hellish Hypocrisie ?

I have seen Tories turn Whigs, to keep in the Ministry, Whigs join with Jacobites, to get into the Ministry, and both Encourage and Employ Tories all the while they were in the Ministry — All Interest and Hypocrisie !

I have seen the Whig Noblemen and Gentlemen of both Kingdoms, Unite their Interests against the Duke and Dutchess of Marlborough, and the late Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Godolphin; I have seen them, the Whig Lords, push at them with all the Fury and Rage that was possible to conceive; I have seen them Ridicule the Services of the Duke of Marlborough, as General, and laugh at the Danger of Displacing him, or at the Notion of the French being Gratified and Encourag'd at the Exchange; I have seen them name him a Successor, and lessen the Character of the Duke, to make that Successor appear his Superiour: To bring this to pass, I have seen them join with profess'd Jacobites, and Vote for Jacobites to sit in Parliament, against the sincerest Original Whigs in the Nation, who adher'd to that Ministry: I have seen the Letters those Whigs have written, the Scurrilous Things they have Printed of the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, such as Abel Roper never was Master of Wit and Gallenough to imitate.

I have seen the same Persons, when failing of their Design, stoop to the Ministry they had so Insulted, and being receiv'd into Places and Preferences, join heartily with the Old Measures, fall in with every Step they Complain'd of, reform no Abuses, alter no Methods, but pursue the same Councils, subject themselves to the same Management, and cry up those Men for Patriots of their Country, who before, they Reproach'd as Betrayers of the Nation — Is this Hypocrisie, or is it not ? I am really sorry, that when I come to this Head again, I must be oblig'd to give you proof of these Things, by Names, Persons, and Circumstances, but I see no Remedy, People will have every secret Thing made known, and they must have it.

I have seen the Whigs, (Low-Church) carels the Dissenters, as the true Support of the Common

Liberty, and Separate with them from Court, under the hateful Distinction of Old Whig and New Whig, and I have now seen them, with their private Views chanc'd to look about Way, sell these Dissenters for the obtaining an Interest in the most trifling Ridiculous Embryo a Politician in the Nation — O Interest Hypocrisie !

Speak now ye that can read Impartially, if such there be, is not here an End of all Perfection? End of all Integrity, of all Sincerity, of all disinterested Honesty? Is there any Truth in Man? After these Things, what shall we expect? Or what shall we wonder at? Have I not seen too much, and know too much? Happy Ignorance, had I known less Party-Hypocrisie on every side, I might have been one Side or other; but where can an honest Man find And who can he join with, when ye are all so Treacherous?

We are now come to New Scenes, and ye are grieved at me, that I am not like you, surpriz'd and provoked, to see the Measures now taken, both Abroad and at Home: You cry out of shaking Hands with France, making Dishonourable Treaties, betraying our Confederates, courting the Popish Interest, insulting the Protestant Succession, breaking the Union, restoring the Pretender — What would you have say of all these Things? Suppose the worst of every Thing you can, and were I to grant it all, what yet I do not; Is it any new Thing? Have not Sides been Hypocrites? And what are the present Parties, but Men of the like Frame with those that went before them?

Have any of the great Men these Things in View? Do any of them, while they pretend the Prosperity of Britain, contrive to Enslave her to France? Do they secretly blow up Coals of Distrust and Dissent between the Confederates, with a Design to resist the Exorbitance of French Power? Do they secretly aim at Engaging us in a War with our Protestant Allies, in order to Overthrow the Succession? And they, at the same time that they punish the Pretorians, for not taking the Abjuration, drive on bringing in the Pretender? If they do, why so far they are Knaves and Hypocrites, let the Persons and Parties be who or what they will; no honest Man in the Ministry can think it points at him, to Resent the Freedom I use; you are mistaken, if I think I fear to say so; whoever he is that swears the Queen, and endeavours to bring in the Pretender, he is a Traytor, and ought to die as a Traytor.

But what shall we say to Popular Clamour, who shall we condemn? Nay, how shall we condemn before the Issue of Things? For my part, I will be a plain Dealer in the Case, let who will be the Master of the Party of Men; but I will not, like the Woman that whip'd her Boy beforehand, because, as she thought he would go to the Fair; resolve of this or that against the Person, or Minister of State, thou art the Man, it is the Party, before it be done, or before the Fact is prov'd, Justice is due to all Men, when I can justify a charge, I'll plainly and openly charge, but not till then, and this, for ought I see, is the greatest of my Crime, by which I give you all so much Offence.